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CONTENTS

26 July 1993

INDONESIA

POLITICAL

Paper Reports on Nuclear Power Project Bidding	1
Private Sector Encouraged To Bid [BISNESS INDONESIA 3 Jun]	1
Parliament Says Open Bidding Unconstitutional [BISNESS INDONESIA 4 Jun]	1

MALAYSIA

POLITICAL

Johor Nominates Chief Minister for UMNO Vice Presidency [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 23 Jun]	3
Musa Hitam's Candidacy Questioned	3
No Musa Support From UMNO Youth [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 23 Jun]	3
Kluang UMNO Prefers Chief Minister [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 23 Jun]	4

ECONOMIC

Private Sector Feedback on Trade Regulations Welcomed [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 23 Jun]	4
MTUC Election Ruled Invalid [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 18 Jun]	4

VIETNAM

POLITICAL

Issues in Party Renovation, Ramification Discussed [NHAN DAN 28 May]	6
'Text' of Regulation on Organ of Control Procurators [NHAN DAN Jun]	7
Article Comments on Human Rights Issue [SAIGON GIAI PHONG 22 Jun]	10

SOCIAL

Official on Buddhism, National Community [VIETNAM NEWS 13 Jun]	11
City's Standards of Living Described [VIETNAM INVESTMENT REVIEW 7-13 Jun]	12
Article Comments on Journalists [NHA BAO VA CONG LUAN Jun]	13
Concern on the Dos, Don'ts in Press [NHA BAO VA CONG LUAN Jun]	14

POLITICAL

Paper Reports on Nuclear Power Project Bidding

Private Sector Encouraged To Bid

93SE0201A Jakarta *BISNESS INDONESIA* in Indonesian
3 Jun 93 p 1

[Text] Jakarta, *BISNESS INDONESIA*—The government has invited the private sector to build the "Muria I" PLTN [Nuclear Powered Electricity Generator] on a Build, Operate, and Own [BOO] basis, because of limitations on available government funds. Meanwhile, a Nuclear Energy Supervision Board (BAPETEN) will be established to supervise nuclear energy questions.

B. J. Habibie, minister of state for research and technology and chairman of the BPPT [Research, Development, and Technology Board], said that the construction of the "Muria I" nuclear generator—which is planned to be in operation by the year 2003—will be offered to Indonesian and foreign private sector companies and will be set up on a BOO basis.

Speaking in Jakarta on 2 June, Habibie said: "Thus far several companies from the United States, Japan, and Europe have expressed an interest in building the 'Muria I' plant." He made this statement after installing new officials in their positions at the offices of the minister of research and technology, the BPIS [expansion unknown], and the BPPT.

According to Djali Ahimsa, chief of the National Atomic Energy Board (BATAN), the inclusion of private sector companies in the construction of the "Muria I" project in Central Java is due to limitations on available government funds.

Furthermore, Djali said, this alternative is intended to reduce the risks of adding to the foreign debt, because the cost of building each 600 MW [Megawatt] unit of the nuclear powered electricity generator is estimated at \$1.5 billion (about 3.0 trillion rupiahs).

Habibie also said that to supervise the construction of the nuclear powered electricity generator to the operational stage, the government will establish the BAPETEN, which will be directly responsible to the president. He said: "At the latest, by November this board should have been established, based on a presidential directive which will be specifically issued for that purpose."

According to Habibie, the organizations which will be represented in BAPETEN will include, among others, the BATAN [National Atomic Energy Agency], the LIPI [Indonesian Institute of Sciences], the Department of Mining and Energy, and universities. Djali added: "BAPETEN began its life as the Atomic Energy Supervisory Section [BAPETA] within BATAN."

Minister of Research and Technology Habibie said that the primary task of BAPETEN is to supervise all aspects related to the construction—from design to actual building—and operation of the nuclear powered electricity generator. The problem in building a nuclear powered electricity generator is that the job must be done right the first time. It cannot be done over again.

Habibie said: "If errors are made in the assembly of a nuclear powered electricity generator and it is feared that there will be leaks, well, it must be done all over again. This means that very large funds will be needed."

Objectively speaking, BAPETEN will review the construction of the nuclear powered electricity generator, using several types of technical inspection. Subjectively, it will review economic aspects and risks.

Djali said that at this point the "Muria I" and "Muria II" (which will be built 18 months after "Muria I") projects are approaching the point when bids will be called for. He said: "There are two alternative technologies which can be used for the construction of the 'Muria' nuclear powered electricity generators."

The first alternative is to use "heavy water" (deuterium), which must be imported. What is left over can be used, together with purified uranium, as the nuclear fuel. The second alternative is to use "light water"—ordinary water—but this requires enriched uranium fuel.

Parliament Says Open Bidding Unconstitutional

93SE0201B Jakarta *BISNESS INDONESIA* in Indonesian
4 Jun 93 p 1

[Text] Jakarta, *BISNESS INDONESIA*—The government's plan to offer the construction of the "Muria" nuclear powered electricity generators to the private sector on a Build, Operate, and Own basis [BOO] is regarded as violating the constitution, because the PLN [State Electricity Corporation] is considered capable of handling the project itself.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a member of Parliament in the PPP [Development Unity Party] faction, said that, in fact, the government could easily finance this project through the issuance of bonds or the sale of PLN shares.

Sri Bintang spoke to a *BISNESS INDONESIA* representative regarding the government's plan to offer to the private sector the construction of the "Muria" generator on a BOO basis. He said: "Why should we turn over the nuclear powered electricity generator to the private sector? That clearly violates the constitution."

Meanwhile, Christianto Wibisono, director of the Indonesian Business Data Center, said that the plan to offer this construction project to the private sector on a BOO basis is quite realistic. However, he quickly added that the determination of the selling price must be in the hands of the PLN.

He said that this is because the government can clearly issue a regulation for that purpose, so that the private sector company which manages the nuclear powered electricity generator cannot properly determine the cost.

According to Sri Bintang, if the PLN, with its very large assets, wishes to build a nuclear powered electricity generator worth \$1.5 billion, he felt that it would have no difficulty in doing so.

He declared firmly that the government can find the funds without having to increase the foreign debt, which could be a burden on the balance of payments.

He added: "In fact, the private sector could participate to a considerable extent without having to control the nuclear powered electricity generator. By buying bonds or shares in the PLN the private sector would continue to make profits, while the government would remain in its position as the policy maker."

Sri Bintang proposed that the project be offered as an obligation, for example, to the Prasetya Mulia business group, which includes 50 companies, with total assets of 50 trillion rupiahs. He said that this company group can form a consortium to buy shares for the construction of the nuclear powered electricity generator and earn dividends.

POLITICAL

Johor Nominates Chief Minister for UMNO Vice Presidency

Musa Hitam's Candidacy Questioned

93SE0216A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 23 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by Aziz Ishak under the News Analysis rubric: "Musa's Time Is Past"]

[Text] Johor Baharu, 22 Jun—As the UMNO [United Malays National Organization] General Assembly, scheduled for November, draws closer and the party election campaign heats up, the name of Datuk Musa Hitam, former deputy president of the party, is again being mentioned.

The announcement by Datuk Shahrir Abdul Samad, president of UMNO's Johor Baharu Division and a strong supporter of Musa, that his "boss" plans to run for vice president has attracted much attention.

Why Shahrir made the announcement is a big question, however, since Musa said earlier that he would not announce his decision until September.

To UMNO leaders in Johor, however, Shahrir's announcement was not surprising, because the former social welfare minister had earlier not attended the Liaison Committee's meeting to choose the state's candidates.

The Johor UMNO Liaison Committee nominated Chief Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin for vice president and four others for membership on the Supreme Council, namely Minister of Legislative Affairs Datuk Syed Hamid Albar, Deputy Minister of Finance Ghani Osman, Deputy Minister of Housing and Local Government Daud Taha, and Deputy Minister of Rural Development Yassin Kamari.

"We understand when Musa does not come, because he always sends his deputy, Osman Jais (Segamat UMNO), but why did Shahrir not come either? He is also now questioning the committee's decision," said a member of the committee.

Run

Is it true that Musa will run for vice president after once holding the position of deputy president?

Sources close to Musa say the former deputy prime minister is merely hinting at his willingness to run if "the situation is pressing."

"Musa wants to improve conditions and send to a 'message' to an UMNO leader (not the president or a deputy).

"Whether he runs and for which office, vice president or deputy president, depends on pressing conditions," the source said.

The interesting question is whether Musa can come back as in the past. It must be remembered that conditions have greatly changed and Musa's influence in Johor UMNO is not as strong as before.

If it is true that Musa plans to run, will he get the support from the state's UMNO Liaison Committee, which unanimously chose Muhyiddin as its one candidate for vice president?

Minister of Information Datuk Mohamed Rahmat, who is also deputy chairman of the Johor UMNO Liaison Committee, said recently in a press conference that the committee will maintain its support for Muhyiddin and will not offer any other candidate.

This means the entire state UMNO machine will back Muhyiddin, and Musa takes a risk if he runs.

Masri Sariani, vice president of the Johor UMNO Youth Movement, said in his comments on the matter that it will be hard for Musa to come back via this election if he does not have the support of the state UMNO organization.

Message

It will be a mistake, however, if Musa merely wants to send a message rather than thinking about winning.

Musa's reputation, which has been "shaken" several times in the past, will fade altogether, and some people do not think Musa is willing to put himself in such a position at a time when he is still respected in Malaysia and internationally.

Muhyiddin, a founder of Johor UMNO, is open about the matter. He told UTUSAN, "Musa is free to run, but I do not think he will sacrifice his reputation so easily."

What everyone must realize, however, is that Musa's time is past, and Johor UMNO can no longer live with Musa's image alone.

Now is the time for Muhyiddin, for he has shown his ability to handle a variety of issues: He restabilized UMNO in Johor after the party split in two; he crippled threats by the Spirit of '46; he handled the palace problem; and he obtained excellent performance by the state's economy.

Musa's statements and positions are hard to read and sometimes ambiguous.

The certain thing is that many people hope Musa will put complete confidence in Muhyiddin, who meets all requirements for running for vice president, despite his previous defeats.

"Muhyiddin's contributions to the party are more conspicuous than those of several UMNO ministers, including those who hold the offices of vice president," said a deputy minister from Johor.

No Musa Support From UMNO Youth

93SE0216A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 23 Jun 93 p 7

[Text] Alor Setar, 22 Jun—Malaysia's UMNO [United Malays National Organization] Youth Movement will not support Datuk Musa Hitam for UMNO vice president if Datuk Sri Najib decides to run for the position in the party's November elections.

Senator Nazri Tan Sri Aziz, deputy president of the movement, said the youth organization will give united support only to Najib if he decides to run for the vice presidency.

He said the intention of the former UMNO deputy president to run for the job is his right.

"The Youth position is clear: If Najib decides to run for vice president, we will definitely support him," he said when asked to comment on an UTUSAN report on this subject today.

Nazri was interviewed today by reporters after attending a briefing on the Kedah MARA [Council of Trust for Indigenous Peoples] given by Nam Marthinin, one of his officials.

As for his running for president of Malaysian UMNO Youth, he said he is willing to consider it if nominated.

Kluang UMNO Prefers Chief Minister

93SE0216A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 23 Jun 93 p 7

[Text] Kluang, 22 Jun—The Kluang Division of UMNO [United Malays National Organization] will not consider any other person from Johor who may be nominated for party vice president at the UMNO General Assembly in November.

According to the division president, Senator Syed Abdul Hamid Sagaff, the UMNO division will support only Chief Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin in the election, as recently decided by the Johor UMNO Liaison Committee.

Position

He said the Kluang UMNO Division's position was decided at a division committee meeting held here last night.

"We officially support Muhyiddin for vice president and will reject any other person who may be nominated," he told UTUSAN today.

He said the Kluang UMNO Division will also support the decision made by the Johor Liaison Committee on this matter.

ECONOMIC

Private Sector Feedback on Trade Regulations Welcomed

93SE0217A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 23 Jun 93 p 11

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 22 Jun—Minister of Trade and Industry Datuk Sri Rafidah Aziz said the government welcomes feedback from the private sector on laws and regulations issued by her ministry so that the ministry can revise them appropriately.

"The exposure of the private sector to international trade and the corporate arena will enable that sector to give feedback to the government on how things are done better elsewhere," she said.

This will also help the government to choose the innovations needed by the Malaysian public administration sector to improve this country's international competitiveness, she added.

She said this today as she inaugurated a two-day conference on corporate administration from the international perspective, sponsored by the Association of Malaysian Institutes of Secretaries and Commissioned Administrators.

The relationship between the public and private sectors should be one of mutually supportive cooperation and one which will make the 2020 Plan a reality, she added.

Rafidah said that although the public sector will continue with relaxation of regulations, it is very important for the government to stress that this does not mean there is a completely free market for the private sector.

"This does not mean the private sector is entirely free and may do as it pleases," she said.

The government will maintain and introduce new laws and regulations to ensure good corporate behavior and action and to assure that the public sector is given proper consideration, she added.

Rafidah said that several years ago the government introduced a policy of reducing regulation by eliminating out-of-date and unnecessary laws and procedures that could hinder private sector operations.

The government's reduction of regulation at various levels of administration is consistent with the government's effort to encourage and increase public sector investment in the economy and to make room for optimum initiative and innovation by the private sector, she said.

MTUC Election Ruled Invalid

93SE0212A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 18 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 17 Jun—Zainal Rampak and all members of the Supreme Council of the Malaysian Trade Union Congress (MTUC) lost their positions when the Registry of Societies annulled the results of the election conducted by the congress's general assembly last December.

The registry took this action because it was not satisfied with the explanation given by the MTUC in response to a letter of censure sent in March after the MTUC was found in violation of several provisions of its constitution.

The Registry of Societies also asked the MTUC to convene another general assembly to elect members of the Supreme Council in compliance with all provisions of its constitution. The assembly should be attended only by representatives of valid member organizations.

The MTUC was also directed to submit within 60 days minutes of the new general assembly and a list, verified by two senior officers, of members of the Supreme Council.

These instructions were contained in a letter from the department dated 14 June, and a copy of it was sent to R. Rajendran, MTUC president and former financial secretary.

The decision means that the slate of MTUC officers elected last December is automatically annulled.

In the election, Zainal won a third successive term as president after getting 260 votes to the 183 votes received by his opponent, Mohamaed Shafie Mammal.

V. David was defeated by his assistant, G. Rajasekaran.

Two other candidates, A.H. Ponniah and Minhat Sulaiman, received 129 and 44 votes, respectively.

The posts of deputy president were won by Indera Putera Ismail, Mustafa Johan Abdullah (deputy secretary-general), Mohd. Isa Jani (financial secretary), and Jaslee Ahmad (deputy financial secretary).

In its three-paragraph letter, the registry said it took very seriously the violations of the MTUC articles of association and found the explanations given by the congress in April to be unsatisfactory.

On 15 March, Societies Registrar Zakiah Hashim had asked the MTUC to give precise reasons why the congress should not be banned after intentionally violating four points of the organization's own constitution.

In the letter, the MTUC was charged with not listing the Malaysian Nurses Association, the National Association of

Teaching Services, and the National Association of Hotels, Bars, and Restaurants in the list submitted to the Registry of Societies on 31 October. The three unions were not admitted until 3 December 1992, but their representatives took part in the general assembly.

The MTUC was also said to have failed to give 12 weeks' advance notice of acceptance of the three unions and to have failed to submit a list of representatives of its 28 unions seven weeks before the general assembly.

The MTUC replied to the letter on 14 April.

Part of the letter reads as follows:

"This department takes very seriously the violations of the articles of association of your organization and finds your explanation unsatisfactory. Furthermore, you have not proposed any correction of those violations.

"You are hereby advised to hold another general assembly to elect members of the Supreme Council in compliance with all regulations and with the attendance of only the representatives of qualified member organizations. Minutes of the general assembly and a list, verified by two senior officials, of Supreme Council members are to be submitted to this department within 60 days from the date of this letter.

POLITICAL

Issues in Party Renovation, Ramification Discussed

932E0062A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
28 May 93 p 3

[Article by Le Huyen Thong under the "Party Building" rubric: "Some Issues That Have Arisen in Party Renovation and Rectification"]

[Text] The Resolution of the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee "On Some Tasks of the Party Renovation and Rectification Process" has been implemented for more than 10 months now. How should the results of this implementation be appraised? At the conferences of organization cadres held in both the north and the south, many delegates held that situation analyses must be really objective and that we should not demand that all the requirements set forth by the Third Plenum Resolution be met by all means in the first phase of implementation. Therefore, all the delegates unanimously agreed with the report by the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee, which said in part: "The party committee echelons have done much and have obtained some initial results. This process has contributed to the effective implementation of the socioeconomic tasks in the past and is continuing to create additional bases for political stability and national renovation. It is through these practical activities that more light has been shed on many important issues, which has resulted in policies and measures being laid down to rectify the party organizationally, to improve the quality of party members, to examine and appraise the cadre contingent, and to meet the requirements of the new situation. Through the first phase of implementation, many party organizations have clearly realized that guidance over party renovation and rectification in pilot localities should be strengthened to promptly gain experience for improving guidance over this task in general. The work to be done in the first and second phases intertwine and interact...."

So, what are the issues that have cropped up in the current process of party renovation and rectification?

How should party rectification be done with regard to the primary organizations?

The Third Plenum Resolution stressed: "Special importance must be attached to consolidating primary party organizations in *economically and politically important areas and domains*." Various party committee echelons, especially Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, and Haiphong, have clearly realized the necessity of this task and have promptly rectified the party organizations in state-run businesses and in strategic staff organs to strengthen and ensure the party leadership in these important establishments. The party committee of Ho Chi Minh City has concentrated on guiding party rectification in 50 businesses and has affirmed that strengthening party committee echelons and party-chapter and party-organization secretaries at the primary level is the foremost task. In the first phase, Thai Binh, Tay Ninh, Hai Hung, Binh Dinh, Ha Tinh, and Kien Giang Provinces and many other localities have attached importance to consolidating party bases in villages and subwards, the level that "controls the people." It is imperative and correct to pay attention to these primary levels. However, what is worrisome is that at

a time when we are concentrating on strengthening primary party organizations in villages and subwards, many provinces have been lax in consolidating primary party organizations in state-operated businesses, especially the important businesses and staff organs.

Surveys of practical work have affirmed ever more strongly that, of the entire renovation undertaking, economic renovation is the most difficult and complicated and also the most important domain. For this reason, in the party renovation and rectification process we must pay utmost attention to strengthening party organizations in the important economic and political establishments. It is because of our failure to do so that the party's leadership role as well as the quality of party members in many places have not yet been improved and asserted. This has caused the relationship between party committee secretaries and economic establishment directors and heads to be snarled by many problems.

Experience gained in the first phase of implementation has clearly shown that, to effectively strengthen the primary party organizations holding important economic and political positions, we must uniformly apply various measures, of which guiding implementation in pilot localities is a highly necessary mode of operation that must receive utmost attention. Many places have achieved high efficiency thanks to their good performance of this task. However, at present there still are numerous shortcomings in the task of guiding implementation in pilot localities. A number of provinces have not yet clearly determined the requirements and goals of guiding implementation in pilot localities and have not yet known how to concentrate on the weak spots of the pilot localities. The phenomenon of perfunctoriness in work has occurred in some pilot localities. Many districts have failed to attach due importance to the selection of cadres for work in pilot localities, and so forth.

On the other hand, experience gained in the first phase has also confirmed the need to ensure uniformity in both the contents and measures of implementation. The Ministries of Light Industry, Agriculture and Food Industry, Heavy Industry, Building, Finance... have coordinated with various localities, especially the two major cities, in holding discussions and jointly deciding on important issues such as cadre-related work, and in appraising the quality of party members in important economic and political establishments. Thus, party renovation and rectification requires that the renovation process be closely linked with the activities of the administration and mass organizations and that there should be close coordination with state agencies from the central to the local level.

First of all, we must hold fast to our goal

The results obtained in the first phase have enabled many party members to see more clearly that the *goal* of party renovation and rectification this time around is to enhance the leadership capability and fighting strength of the party in conformity with the objective requirements of the new situation. However, not every locality has always had a firm grasp of this goal. In reality, not a few localities have shown a tendency to *emphasize the screening* of party members while making light of the need to enhance their leadership capability and intellect. Therefore, the Organization Department of the party Central Committee has

held a national conference of organization cadres to gain experience in this matter and to advise various party organizations on the need to have a firm grasp of the requirements and tasks of the second phase of party renovation and rectification. Of these requirements, concentrating on satisfactorily analyzing the quality of the contingent of party members, training them, enhancing their intellect, screening party members, and increasing party membership are the central tasks. This process must be closely linked with the training, re-training, and improvement of cadres to meet the requirements of the market mechanism and the broadening of international relations. We must attach importance to training cadres through the performance of practical work and through the activities of the mass movements.

All localities have clearly seen that all the three tasks (training, screening, and increasing party membership) are closely related and interact. However, we must, first of all, attach importance to improving the quality of party members. According to a recent (13 April 1993) conclusion drawn by the party Central Committee Secretariat, "the principal objective of analyzing the quality of party members is to let party members practice self-criticism and criticism, to bring good points into full play, to overcome shortcomings, and to enhance the leadership capability of the contingent of party members and the fighting strength of party organizations. The analysis of party members' quality and the classification of party members are done only in the internal ranks of party chapter committees, other party committees...."

Thus, each individual must make plans to raise his capabilities and skills in all respects in keeping with the standards and tasks of party members in the new situation.

Along with training and improving the quality of party members, we must also screen their ranks. All localities have unanimously held that, first of all, we must severely deal with and expel from the party all political opportunists whose words and deeds are at variance with the party's line, and those who are corrupt, degenerate, deviant, and hated by the masses.

The process of improving party members' quality must also be closely linked with the plan to increase party membership. The party committees of Hai Hung and Thai Binh Provinces, Ho Chi Minh City, and many other party organizations in the Armed Forces have taken the initiative in creating new sources of recruits to increase party membership through the mass organizations and practical activities.

Some pressing problems that have not been definitely resolved

All the conferences of organization cadres in both the north and the south have contended that party organizations have not paid attention to definitely resolving some pressing issues. These issues are:

- Checking and repelling the evils of corruption and negativism.
- Dealing with the state of disunity in some places.

The process of resolving these problems is closely linked with the rectification of three important categories of

primary-level party organizations (villages and subwards, production and business units, and some state organs). At the same time, we must re-examine, arrange, and adjust cadre deployment and assign additional cadres to make personnel preparations for the mid-term party congress of delegates and the eighth party congress.

However, it is disturbing that to this day the prolonged, serious state of internal disunity in some party bases still has not yet been definitely resolved (standing out among them is Khanh Hoa Province).

The delegates unanimously agreed with this appraisal in the report by the Party Central Committee Organization Department: "Not much has been accomplished in the struggle against corruption, negativism, and bureaucratism in the party and state organizational systems, and there still are many difficulties. A number of major cases of corruption have not been timely, strictly, and justly dealt with, especially the cases involving leadership and management cadres. Generally speaking, the implementation of this task has failed to fulfill the set requirements. The localities have not yet made adequate investment so that measures could be taken to definitely and efficiently resolve this matter...."

The causes of this deficiency are legion. First of all, it is because we have failed to act as urged by the Resolution of the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee, which stressed: "*It must be strictly implemented from inside the party and from the top to bottom.*" Besides the failure to strictly and promptly deal with the cases of negativism from which conclusions have been drawn, a practice has begun to appear in which some localities have taken advantage of the "so-called anticorruption drive" to gang up and to settle personal scores.

We could have mentioned some other problems that have arisen in the first phase of party renovation and rectification. However, a matter of decisive significance as Comrade Le Phuoc Tho, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee, said in conclusion at both the recent conferences of organization cadres: "The comrade key leaders of the various echelons must have a firm grasp of the requirements and tasks of the second phase to resolutely exercise concentrated and firm guidance and to definitely fulfill each concrete task. On the one hand, we must continue to draw experience, especially in the pilot localities. On the other hand, we must concentrate on guiding the efforts to improve the quality of the contingent of party members, including the training and screening of party members and the expansion of party membership. In this process we must oppose rightist attitudes and take the initiative in preventing those localities beset with internal disunity from taking advantage of this opportunity to criticize one another. The important thing is that we must survey and correctly appraise the real state of the contingent of party members in each domain and each form of primary organization in order to take uniform and realistic measures...."

'Text' of Regulation on Organ of Control Procurators

932E0064A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
2 Jun 93 p 3

[Full text of "Regulation on Procurators of People's Organs of Control"]

[Text] On 26 May, president of the State Le Duc Anh signed an executive order to make public the Regulation on Procurators of People's Organs of Control, which was passed by the Standing Committee of the National Assembly on 12 May 1993. The text of the regulation is as follows:

Pursuant to Article 91 of the 1992 Constitution of the SRV,

Pursuant to the Law on Organization of People's Organs of Control;

This regulation sets the rules regarding procurators of the People's Organs of Control.

Chapter I: General Rules

Article 1: Procurators are persons appointed in accordance with legal rules to carry out the task of enforcing the law and exercising the prosecutorial powers.

Article 2: Any Vietnamese citizens who are loyal to the fatherland, have good qualities and virtues, are incorruptible and righteous, command a good legal and professional control knowledge, seriously obey the law, are determined to defend the socialist legal system, and are in good health to ensure fulfillment of the assigned task can be selected and appointed People's Organ of Control procurators.

Article 3: Procurators are responsible to the law for carrying out their task and powers; if they commit any violations of the law, depending on the nature and extent of their wrongful acts and their consequences they will be subjected to disciplinary action or prosecution on the basis of criminal responsibilities.

Article 4: The organizations and individuals concerned are responsible for seriously carrying out any procurators' decisions, objections, resolutions, and requests in accordance with the law.

Article 5: When these organizations and individuals find out that the procurators' decisions, objections, resolutions, requests, and other acts are baseless or against the law, they have the right to submit complaints and charges to the chief procurator of a People's Organ of Control at the same level, the chief procurator of a superior People's Organs of Control, or the responsible state organ.

The organs and persons who receive the complaints and charges shall be responsible for resolving them and responding in accordance with the law.

To seek revenge against those who have submitted complaints and charges, or to abuse the right to submit complaints and charges in order to falsely accuse procurators is strictly prohibited.

Article 6: Procurators must respect the people and accept their control.

As they carry out their task and powers, procurators rely on state organs, the VFF and its member organizations, other socialist organizations, economic organizations, units of the people's armed forces, and citizens. Within their own functions and tasks, these organizations and individuals are responsible for creating favorable conditions for procurators to carry out their task.

All acts of obstruction preventing procurators from carrying out their task are strictly prohibited.

Chapter II: Task, Powers of Procurators; Procedures for Procurators

Article 7: Procurators carry out their task assigned by chief procurators and are responsible to the latter.

As they carry out their task, procurators only obey the law and accept the direct leadership of the chief procurators at their level and the unified leadership of the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control.

Article 8: Procurators have the right to refuse carrying out an assigned task when there is a basis for considering it illegal; if the chief procurator concerned still decides that it should be carried out, the procurator concerned must execute this decision, but the chief procurator himself must be responsible for his decision.

Procurators must refuse to carry out a task or be subjected to a change if there is a basis for realizing that they may not be fully impartial while carrying out this task.

Article 9: Within the framework of the assigned control task, procurators are responsible for carrying out the tasks and powers of the Organs of Control at their level in accordance with the law, except for what falls within the authorities of chief procurators or deputy chief procurators.

Article 10: Procurators may not pursue business activities or other services in accordance with the law.

Article 11: Procurators receive salaries, allowances, and other benefits in accordance with state regulations.

Article 12: Procurators are provided with clothes and procurator ID cards for them to do their job.

The clothing patterns, the procedures for supplying and using these clothes, and the procurator ID cards will be submitted by the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control to the Standing Committee of the National Assembly for approval.

Article 13: The chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control is in charge of the unified management of all procurators and of the elementary and advanced training of procurators for Organs of Control at all levels, and must ensure the application of procedures for procurators in accordance with the law.

Chapter III: Criteria Applicable to Procurators; Procedures for Selection, Appointment, Demotion, and Dismissal of Procurators

Article 14: Any Vietnamese citizens who can satisfy the qualifications set in article 2 of this regulation, have college-level control or law school background, have eight years or more of legal work, and are capable of fulfilling the task of enforcing the law and exercising the prosecutorial powers of the Supreme People's Organ of Control can be selected and appointed procurators of the Supreme People's Organ of Control; if they are active officers in the Army and can satisfy the qualifications set in this article, they can be selected and appointed procurators of the Central Military Organ of Control.

Article 15: Any Vietnamese citizens who can satisfy the qualifications set in article 2 of this regulation, have college-level control or law school background, have six years or more of legal work, and are capable of fulfilling the

task of enforcing the law and exercising the prosecutorial powers of the People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government and of the Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels can be selected and appointed procurators of the People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government; if they are active officers in the army and can satisfy the qualifications set in this article, they can be selected and appointed procurators of the Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels.

Article 16: Any Vietnamese citizens who can satisfy the qualifications set in article 2 of this regulation, have college-level control or law school background, have four years of more of legal work, and are capable of fulfilling the task of enforcing the law and exercising the prosecutorial powers of the People's Organs of Control of districts, wards, cities, and municipalities subordinate to provincial administration and of Military Organs of Control of provinces and zones can be selected and appointed procurators of the People's Organs of Control of districts, wards, cities, and municipalities subordinate to provincial administration; if they are active officers in the Army and can satisfy the qualifications set in this article, they can be selected and appointed procurators of the Military Organs of Control of provinces and zones.

Article 17: Procurators of the Supreme People's Organ of Control and procurators of the Central Military Organ of Control are appointed, demoted, and dismissed by the president of the state in accordance with recommendations from the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control.

Procurators of local People's Organs of Control are appointed, demoted, and dismissed by the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control in accordance with recommendations from chief procurators of the People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government.

Procurators of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels and of Military Organs of Control of provinces and zones are appointed, demoted, and dismissed by the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control in accordance with recommendations from the chief procurator of the Central Military Organ of Control.

Article 18: The Control Committee of the Supreme People's Organ of Control selects qualified persons to be prospective procurators of the Supreme People's Organ of Control and the Central Military Organ of Control and submits their names to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control, who will recommend them to the president of the state for appointment; and considers the cases of those procurators of the Supreme People's Organ of Control and the Central Military Organ of Control who have violated discipline and thus become no longer qualified as procurators and submits their names to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control, who will recommend them to the President of the State for dismissal.

The Control Committee of the Central Military Organ of Control selects qualified persons to be prospective procurators of the Central Military Organ of Control and submits

their names to the chief procurator of the Central Military Organ of Control, who will report them to the Control Committee of the Supreme People's Organ of Control; and considers the cases of those procurators of the Central Military Organ of Control who have violated discipline and thus become no longer qualified as procurators and submits their names to the chief procurator of the Central Military Organ of Control, who will report them to the Control Committee of the Supreme People's Organ of Control.

Article 19: The Control Committees of People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government select qualified persons to be prospective procurators of People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government and procurators of People's Organs of Control of districts, wards, cities, and municipalities subordinate to provincial administration and submit their names to chief procurators of People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government, who will recommend them to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control for appointment; and consider the cases of those procurators of the People's Organs of Control at their and lower levels who have violated discipline and thus become no longer qualified as procurators and submit their names to chief procurators of People's Organs of Control of provinces and municipalities subordinate to the central government, who will recommend them to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control for dismissal.

Article 20: The Control Committees of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels select qualified persons to be prospective procurators of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels and procurators of Military Organs of Control of provinces and zones and submit their names to chief procurators of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels, who will report them to the Control Committee of the Central Military Organ of Control. On the basis of the results of selections made by the Control Committee of the Central Military Organ of Control, the chief procurator of the Central Military Organ of Control submits his own recommendations to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control for appointment.

The Control Committees of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels consider the cases of those procurators at their and lower levels who have violated discipline and thus become no longer qualified as procurators and submit their names to chief procurators of Military Organs of Control of military regions and equivalent levels, who will report them to the Control Committee of the Central Military Organ of Control. On the basis of the decision of the Control Committee of the Central Military Organ of Control, the chief procurator of the Central Military Organ of Control submits his own recommendations to the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control for dismissal.

Chapter IV: Implementation

Article 21: This regulation replaces the previous procedures regarding the payroll status of People's Organ of Control procurators. The previous regulations that are contrary to this regulation are hereby abrogated.

Article 22: The government and the Supreme People's Organ of Control, within the limits of their functions, are to provide guidance regarding the implementation of this regulation.

Hanoi, 12 May 1993

For the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the SRV,

[Signed] Nong Duc Manh, chairman.

Article Comments on Human Rights Issue

932E0065A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 22 Jun 93 p 2

[Article by Nguyen Khac Duc: "Dialogue on Human Rights"]

[Text] Human rights is a major issue in the world today. The UN-sponsored International Human Rights Conference, now meeting in Vienna (Austria), reflects the world's interest in the human rights issue. But it is not until now that this issue has been raised. The socialist revolutions and the worldwide national liberation movement have long been struggling for man's supreme objectives: liberty, equality, freedom from exploitation, and so on.

However, some extremist reactionary people abroad have been making loud statements about the human rights issue, using it as a political trick, and hoping to carry out dark schemes against a number of countries, including Vietnam.

Real Nature of Arguments for Human Rights in Vietnam of Some People Abroad

The exiled Vietnamese reactionary groups abroad recently stepped up a campaign for "human rights." Their arguments sounded "fashionable," but in terms of the real situation in the country they were really very irrelevant.

They demanded freedom and democracy (!?). They claimed in the mass media, such as radio stations and newspapers abroad, that in Vietnam there existed no freedom and democracy at all, that Vietnam suppressed democracy, repressed dissidents, and so on. They demanded freedom for violators of the law, those who have committed high treason and crimes against the people. Some people also wanted to defend those who have committed acts of destruction against the national construction behind the screen of freedom and democracy. Then what are the democracy and freedom that they demanded? Does it mean being free to kill one another? Does it mean being free and democratic in order to insult one another? This is totally contrary not only to the Vietnamese nation's traditions and morality but also to the law of any country in the world. In reality, they only demanded the kind of anticommunist democracy and anti-communist freedom. They did not hide the objective of overthrowing the socialist regime in our country. The real irony was that at a "human rights conference" some people who have committed crimes such as Vo Dai Ton and Tran Van Nga made loud claims to freedom and democracy!

The forces that are our country's adversaries are angry because Vietnam has steadily moved forward while encountering difficulties. They have been seeking every means to attack our regime by loudly denouncing the so-called "suppression of religion(!)." They have been

slandering and deliberately distorting our party's and state's policy of respecting freedom of religion. Most recently, the disturbances created by a number of bad elements in Hue have been fully exploited by the exiled reactionary forces to vilify Vietnam's good name. But the truth remains the truth. Agitators could not hide their schemes of disturbing the social order through prearrangement, including their close relations with the bad elements abroad. Even a FAR EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW (FEER) reporter in Hanoi, in an interview granted the BBC, had this to say, "Some people in the streets made an observation to the effect that the monks had not folded their feet while sitting as Buddhist clergymen normally would have done but instead had climbed onto car roofs, pushed these vehicles, shouted, and made gestures that normally members of the Buddhist clergy would not make.... The fact was that not very many Buddhists or Vietnamese citizens had been overly concerned about this matter. Although 80 percent of Vietnamese are Buddhist, the notion that the state would involve itself in religious matters is too hard to comprehend for many people...."

The voices of the legitimate Buddhist circles in our country have also clarified the so-called "suppression of Buddhism" issue. On the occasion of the recent 2537th Birthday of Buddha, the Vietnam Buddhist Congregation has issued a message to make it clear that in the spirit of national conciliation, the Vietnamese Buddhist religion has been unified and is no longer divided into sects and branches. The Advanced School of Buddhism and more than 20 primary Buddhist schools have been opened in provinces and cities to train a large number of clergymen; thousands of pagodas, monasteries, and meditation halls have been restored in the last dozen years; monks and nuns have been free to pursue religious studies, Buddhist followers have been free to pray in pagodas, and so on. These are eloquent realities that refute the dark forces' propaganda and deceitful arguments.

Human Rights in Vietnam Are Respected and Developed Within the Struggle for National Liberation, Reconstruction, and Prosperity

Ever since its birth, the Communist Party of Vietnam, inheriting and further developing our nation's precious traditions, has set its line on the basis of the famous "Thesis on Proletarian Revolution and Civil Rights" written by its first general secretary, Tran Phu. It was the line on the revolution, which later was called the people's democratic revolution for national liberation from foreign aggression. And when President Ho Chi Minh solemnly read the Declaration of Independence, its human rights contents had been expressed in the fullest and most profound manner. Having inherited our ancestors' fine tradition of "consider the people as roots" and having absorbed the quintessence of mankind to benefit the construction and defense of the fatherland, the Communist Party of Vietnam that Uncle Ho had founded and trained succeeded in fulfilling the noble mission assigned to it by History and the people. Under the leadership of the party, our people had been heroically struggling to regain independence and freedom for the nation, to reunify the country and to build a prosperous Vietnam that Uncle Ho had wanted to see, and to strongly defend the rights of man in the noblest meaning of this concept.

Ever since the country regained its independence, became reunified, and moved as a whole toward socialism, and especially since the sixth party congress was held, in the process of carrying out the line on renovation all the basic rights of citizens have been respected and developed, and have been ensured and exercised in accordance with the law.

Although the country had to go through two wars of national liberation full of hardships and has just seen the end of the terrible destruction of the wars, Vietnam has been going step by step toward stability and development. Our friends in the world have been happy and have supported us. Beside the achievements that we have made, there remain difficulties left behind by historical conditions and even some difficulties and obstacles that exist in our moving forward; some of the people's legitimate rights, sometimes and in some localities, have not yet been fully exercised. But absolutely, human rights have not been violated because of that. Propaganda and deceitful arguments can mislead only those people who have little information about the situation in the country and those people who still have some complex regarding the Vietnamese Communists. Seventy million compatriots from North to South are doing their very best to build a prosperous and strong Vietnam capable of rubbing shoulders with other nations in the world.

More than anybody else, those Vietnamese who have suffered from difficulties and hardships, and have sacrificed their youth for national salvation and national construction, are those people who have the right to talk about true human rights. As to those people who yesterday hid behind foreign countries and repressed the people and today are plotting to once again push the nation toward disunity and hatred, they do not have the qualifications to talk about the human rights issue.

Our people's good-cause undertaking will surely become victorious. Dark schemes, no matter whether they are hidden behind the human rights screen, will surely be unmasked and defeated.

SOCIAL

Official on Buddhism, National Community

93SE0210B Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
13 Jun 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vu Quang, head of the Government Commission for Religious Affairs: "Buddhism, an Inseparable Companion of the National Community"]

[Text] The jubilant celebration of Buddha's 2537th birth anniversary recently by millions of Buddhist priests and laymen is enough to demonstrate the thriving of Buddhism and other religions in our country in the process of renovation and democratisation. In the millenary history of our nation Buddhism has always been associated with the fortunes of the country. At any stage of national development, the genuine Buddhists always took side with the patriotic forces to defend and build up the country. The altruism of Buddha who preached peace, harmony and compassion for the humankind is very close to the aspiration of the working people, hence has been quick to integrate with the spiritual life of our people.

One of the prominent ideas preached by Buddhism is harmony and concord and one of the six principles of harmony is the harmony of spirit, in other words, the unity of mind in order to undertake a common work. This fits in perfectly with the Vietnamese people's tradition of broad national unity.

President Ho Chi Minh once wrote: "Buddhism has set as objective the building of a world where beauty, good, equality, happiness and a plenty life would prevail." He further wrote: "Lord Buddha is the incarnation of philanthropy. He wanted to save the humankind from misery and despair and he was given to complete self-abnegation and the fight against the devils. Thus, the objectives of Buddha are very close to the ideal of the genuine communists and genuine socialism." Over the past few years of renovation Buddhist life in our country has witnessed a mighty revivification, from the recruitment of young novices to the training of your priests, the popularisation of Buddha's preachings to the building and repair of places of worship. The whole country now has two Buddhist centres of high learning and basic schools for the training of young priests. There are now more than 20,000 Buddhist priests in the whole country compared to 17,000 in 1991. Ordainment ceremonies have been held with all the necessary rituals in the localities. The Buddhist Church has published more than 50 books of prayers including the translation of the Dai Tang book of prayers. By the end of 1991 the number of Buddhist pagodas and shrines had risen to 4,400 most of which had been repaired with funds either contributed by the population or supplied by the local administration.

In a word, Buddhism in Vietnam in the process of national concord and solidarity has made common cause with the nation and has found its future in the common future of the nation.

Now, what actually happened during the so-called "Hue incident" has been widely and clearly reported by the Vietnamese press including VIETNAM NEWS. I don't think it is necessary to recall it here. I want only to lay emphasis on this fact: Broad segments of public opinion have no more doubt about the misuse of religion to foment public disorder by a number of Buddhist monks, chiefly Nguyen Dinh Hoa (alias Thich Hai Tang), Le Quang Vinh (alias Thich Tri Tuu) and Le Phu Thinh (alias Thich Hai Thinh). Their acts have been unanimously denounced by religious and non-religious alike as acts of hooliganism unworthy of a Buddhist devotee. The investigative bodies have collected enough evidences to prove their culpability and they have been prosecuted. While firmly objecting to all violations of the freedom of belief the Vietnamese State is also determined to let no one misuse religious belief to undermine the bloc of national unity. All citizens are equal before law. We shall try no one for his or her adherence to this or that religion but shall punish any act of disturbing public order and any defiance of law.

Thich Huyen Quang alleged that the government has banned and destroyed the An Giang sect. What is the truth? The truth is that following the reunification of the country, discussions were held by various organisations and sects of Buddhism in Vietnam and on February 2 and 3, 1980 in Ho Chi Minh City, 20 members of the Buddhist clergy met and founded the preparatory committee for the unification of

Buddhism. In November 1981, the congress for the unification of Buddhism convened in Ho Chi Minh City with the participation of 165 delegates of the three Buddhist organisation, namely the Unified Buddhist Association in the North, the Unified Buddhist Church (the An Quang sect in the South) and the Liaison Committee of Patriotic Buddhists in Ho Chi Minh City together with six other sects. They discussed and adopted the Charter and other documents of the Vietnam Unified Buddhist Association. Could it be that such high dignitaries as The Most Venerable Thich Don Hau, Thich Tri Thu, Thich Tri Tinh, Thich Thien Sieu, Thich Minh Chau and many other delegates of the An Quang school were all faked monks and renegades as claimed by Thich Huyen Quang? Is there any genuine Buddhist in Vietnam who could agree with Mr. Thich Huyen Quang that the reunification of the various Buddhist sects in the country in 1981 was another disaster for Buddhism after the first disaster in 1963 when Ngo Dinh Diem launched a bloody terror campaign against Buddhists?

Huyen Quang has betrayed the cause of Buddhist unity upheld by the Most Venerable Thich Don Hau. Yet, in the moments of agony of Mr. Don Hau, misusing the latter's prestige he ordered Thich Hai Tang to draft a false testament and Thich Tri Tuu to fake Mr Don Hau's signature then, styling himself acting director of the Hoa Dao institute (of the An Quang sect) Huyen Quang endeavoured to break the unity of Vietnamese Buddhism, vilified the Buddhist Church, cast aspersion on the high dignitaries of the former An Quang sect, and wrongly accused the government of repressing Buddhism. The Vietnamese government agrees with the majority of the Buddhist clergy and following in the country that Huyen Quang has usurped the name of the Hoa Dao institute and faked the testament of the Most Venerable Thich Don Hau and violated the government regulations on the founding of associations.

Huyen Quang has no capacity whatsoever to claim back the places of worship of the former An Quang sect because these places are now under the management of the Vietnam Buddhist Church. Mr Huyen Quang's demand for the release of law-breaking religious dignitaries is aimed at defending the criminals and slandering the government.

At the court trial on December 8, 1978 the People's Inspectorate of Ho Chi Minh City brought to public knowledge a series of criminal offences by Huyen Quang, but in implementation of the government lenient policy, sentenced him to only 24 months of suspended imprisonment. However, Huyen Quang has carried on his unlawful activities. Until now the government still hopes that Mr Huyen Quang recognizes his past misdeeds and return to the right path which would help him make peace with his own religion and his country.

City's Standards of Living Described

93SE0210A Hanoi VIETNAM INVESTMENT REVIEW
in English 7-13 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Tran Thanh Lam: "Rise in Disposable Income Alters Spending"]

[Text] On her eighteenth birthday, Thu An was given a brand new Japanese motorcycle.

Her father, a former high-school teacher, dropped his career three years ago and became involved in real estate

transactions. They now live in a comfortable three-room flat, with all kinds of household appliances and gadgets.

Families like Thu An's, with a motorcycle, colour TV, VCR, and refrigerator account for 30-40 per cent of all households in Ho Chi Minh City. And their numbers are growing.

In 1990 44.7pc [percent] of households owned motorbikes; in 1992 the figure was 46.8.

Last year 55.2pc of households had TVs, up from 41.7pc in 1990. Now nearly one household in four (22.1pc in 1992) has a refrigerator, against one in seven (16.2pc) three years ago.

In 1992 1.67 per cent of private households had their own cars, 0.8pc air conditioners and 1pc gas cookers.

Two-thirds of the 10,000 houses (totalling 700,000 square metres) built last year were for private owners.

Average monthly spending per person in 1992 was about VND200,000, six per cent more than the year before.

But not all families have more money to spend.

Thanh Binh quit school aged twelve to earn a living selling lottery tickets. He just manages to find enough food for his mother and younger sister; his father was killed in an accident some years ago. Thanh Binh's family spends about VND150,000 a month; they are listed as "needy and hungry" by local authorities.

In HCMC 30.7pc of households spend only VND100,000-150,000 per month. In 1991 the figure was 46pc. Poor families are decreasing, but the structure of the average HCMC family budget still shows a low standard of living.

Food occupies 70pc of average household expenditure. Meals eaten outside the home are increasing, accounting for 25pc of total food expenditure (against 23pc in 1991) or 17pc of the family budget.

Other items are also increasing: clothes from 2.8pc in 1991 to 4pc; travel from 2.7pc to 4pc; health care from 5.4pc to 6.3pc.

Money spent on children's education is decreasing; from 2.2pc to 1.8pc.

Translated into the language of marketing, these figures can be interpreted as follows.

With a population of 4.5 million, in 1992 HCMC spent about VND7,200 billion on food (VND1.6 million/capita/year); VND427 billion for clothes (VND95,000/capita/year); VND426 billion for travel (VND94,680/capita/year); VND662 billion for health care (VND147,048/capita/year) and VND205 billion on entertainment (VND45,536/capita/year).

Of travel expenses, only 10pc was spent on public transport; city dwellers still prefer their bicycles and motorbikes. The increase in domestic expenditure reflects the growth of the national economy and at the same time points to increasing polarisation in Vietnam.

Parallel with the high and low income polarisation, there exists a marked difference in standards of living between city-dwellers and suburban farmers.

Only 35.1pc of farmers' households have TV sets, against 63.6pc of city-dwellers. For VCRs the rate is 4.4pc against 21.9pc; fridges 9.2pc against 27.5pc; and 30.1pc against 53.8pc for motobikes.

Polarisation is happening in suburban areas as well.

While 10 to 20pc of outlying households are listed as well-off—including those who got rich overnight thanks to land sales or compensation deal—20 to 30pc remain poor. Nine per cent of suburbanites—8,500 households—are listed as "extremely poor", spending less than VND40,000 per person a month.

And one third of this number spends just VND15,000-20,000 each—less than US\$2—a month.

Unemployment takes the blame. "The number of people reaching working age has increased, but we have not opened more new branches of industries," said an official. The result is a migration of labour towards HCMC, depopulating villages and overcrowding the City.

Areas under aquaculture and agriculture are diminishing due to the fever of construction.

In "luckier" localities with foreign investment projects, the situation is no better. Jobs are available at Tan Thuan Export Processing Zone, but many young people have failed to seize the opportunity, and are ill-prepared professionally and culturally.

The living-standard gap between city and outskirts thus becomes wider and wider.

Table. Per Cent of Families Spending Per Month and Per Capita

(VND)	1991 %	1992 %
Min. to 80,000	10	5.7
80,000 to 137,000	36	25
137,000 to 229,000	38.1	36
229,000 to 343,000	10.6	21
343,000 to 458,000	2.4	7
458,000 and more	2.3	5

(Source: HCMC Bureau of Statistics)

Article Comments on Journalists

932E0063A Hanoi NHA BAO VA CONG LUAN
in Vietnamese Jun 93 p 1

[Article by Hung Cuong: "In the Name of Journalists"]

[Text] Since the Sixth National Party Congress, an atmosphere of democracy and openness in public opinion has set in, and the press have won growing trust and love of the masses, who pin their hopes on them. In their letters to various editorial offices, the masses write about the joy perceived on each city street and in each rural village. They report their grievances, the lack of democracy, and social injustices to the press, hoping that the latter would stand up for them. The people trust and love the press because each of them realizes that the press are an instrument of the party, the state, and the mass organizations, and also a forum of the people. Because of this trust and love, the

masses have shown even greater trust in and love for journalists. Many journalists have courageously made use of their knowledge and their pens to expose cases of corruption and negativism to public view, thereby contributing to restoring social order and justice. However, sometimes, no sooner had a journalist reported on cases of negativism in the newspapers than he was immediately counterattacked by negativist forces who compelled him to retire or stop working for reason of poor health, or transferred him to another line of work. Some journalists were bold enough to speak up on behalf of the masses and to depict in the newspapers those elements who, acting in the name of the party, the state, and the mass organizations and in defiance of the state law and public opinion, trampled on the masses' right to mastery and stole from public property to line their own pockets. These journalists were immediately isolated and had "their pens tied up" and "their hands bound" in one way or another. Though not common, this phenomenon is by no means a rare occurrence in various state agencies and localities.

It is sad to see a number of our colleagues in various localities plunging into the struggle against corruption, only to suffer endless misfortunes in their lives and careers. Some have had to accept such losses in order not to write anything contrary to their true feelings, and not to be ashamed of their writings when the masses read them.

Besides the contingent of these admirable journalists, there are also other journalists who have become "deformed" in their writings. Some stand for "concord at any price," advocating a style of writing that "can be neither criticized by the higher-ups nor reproached by the inferiors," and that the people neither praise nor reprove. Some have even tried to use their writings to cover up cases of negativism that their colleagues were seeking to do away with in their determined struggle. Some have abused their title of journalist, going here and there with their press cards to threaten the innocents or to blackmail the guilty. Some act in the name of journalists but belittle the agencies in charge of their newspapers, lead an unruly life, and disregard their agencies' discipline and the state law.

Over the past few years, after the press began to operate under the market mechanism, many newspaper offices have employed a large contingent of permanent collaborators in all parts of the country. Driven by their love for the profession, the majority of these collaborators have ceaselessly improved their journalistic skills and their capability to observe and correctly appraise the multifaceted developments of life, and have written many interesting and profound articles for publication in various newspapers. These collaborators do not have a press card, but, by means of their truthful, witty, and constructive writings, they have asserted their prestige before public opinion. They have become the cells that sustain the prestige of many newspapers among large numbers of readers, radio listeners, and television viewers. However, among the collaborators of various newspaper offices, there are also some who have taken advantage of the publication of their press articles to threaten the grass roots.

Over the past years, in some localities a number of people have been discovered and arrested for masquerading as journalists to commit acts contrary to journalistic ethics. Among these people were some who had written for the

newspapers and had published articles in the press, and some who could not write but still wanted to pass for journalists to gain personal prestige and to make trouble for the grass roots. Some prudent organs and localities, by checking letters of introduction from press agencies and press cards carried by those who reported for work, were able to unmask the bogus journalists. But some organs and localities were deceived into receiving the "bogus newsmen" because they had hastily believed these people when they introduced themselves as journalists.

In the period of "renovating the press for the cause of national renovation," the press have really become an effective tool to inspire the entire people to actively contribute to the process of national renovation under the party leadership. If they have a correct perception of this matter, all agencies and localities should warmly support those writers who know how to act correctly "in the name of journalists," so as to encourage the new that is developing and to severely criticize the evil practices that run counter to the traditional morality of our nation and are contrary to party discipline and the state law. Along with this effort, all agencies and localities should also remain alert to people who "use the name of journalists" to commit acts contrary to the ethics and conscience of writers. This is to contribute to protecting the prestige of the press in view of the requirements of the current revolutionary stage.

Concern on the Dos, Don'ts in Press

932E0063B Hanoi NHA BAO VA CONG LUAN
in Vietnamese Jun 93 pp 2, 3

[Article by Tuan Minh: "Concern Over the 'Dos' and 'Don'ts' in Information"]

[Text] "Citizens have the right to receive information through the press about all aspects of the domestic and world situation, the right to express their views on the domestic and world situation...."

"The press have the duty and power to report on and guide social opinion and to serve as a forum for the people to exercise their freedom of speech...."

These stipulations on information are clearly noted in the Press Law.

Information is indispensable to life. Without information, people cannot have the essential knowledge of what is happening around them and concerns them. Without information, people are virtually isolated from the world in which they live and become disoriented in their thoughts and actions. Information is the "input" of thinking. Without new information, people are incapable of new thinking.

We have a very interesting slogan: "Let the people know, discuss, do, and control," in which *let the people know* must come first, otherwise the people would not *know* what *to discuss* and *to do*, let alone *to control*.

Information is that important, therefore, the more information citizens receive, the better. The higher the people's cultural and educational standard and the broader the exchange among citizens, the greater the demand for information. The information explosion, as we usually put it, originates from the socioeconomic development in modern times.

Our country is currently in the period of renovation. All economic, political, and social sectors and domains are demanding an increasingly larger amount of information; and a lack of information will certainly result in a state of stagnation.

Formerly, during the period of the revolutionary movement for national salvation or during the war, the demand for information was still limited. At the time, that demand was only confined to what was needed to defeat the enemy. Today, life has become extremely varied and diversified, and the demand for information is much greater. Everyday, every hour, people thirst for information and seek to obtain the fastest and latest information. Therefore, readers always demand from the press a very large amount of information and often show that they are not satisfied with the quantity and quality of information in our press.

Certainly, over the past few years our press has taken an important step in renovating the way they provide information. Many things that used to be regarded as "taboo" have now become ordinary. Information about prices, productivity, output, accidents, natural calamities..., which was once considered to be "national secrets" (!), is now regularly reported in the press. Information about international events has become fairly abundant.

However, this progress cannot yet be regarded as the pinnacle of information. Many things that the people want to know or are concerned about remain unreported. There still are many things the press want to report but hesitate to do so, unsure whether they "should" or "should not" be published. This is why the "hunger for information" has not yet ended, why people continue hunting for news, and why "the grapevine" (the accuracy of which is unverifiable) still has a "market."

Some say that our press offers a lot of news but little information. This statement is not a play on words but a reflection of reality. A lot of news could mean little if such news items are just formulaic, ritual reportage filled with verbose narratives and repetitive contents. The radios and newspapers feature almost identical news reports, so much so that some people think that, to get all the information that has been made public, one needs only listen to the radio, or watch television, or buy just one daily newspaper. An editor in chief admits: "Some issues of my newspaper often do not carry any interesting information. The news is vapid and monotonous and lacks freshness!"

We have got a good many adjectives to describe the quality of information such as: new, attractive, lively, abundant, diversified. But in seeking to meet these requirements, we have run up against countless "dos" and "don'ts"!

Nowadays, a fairly large number of symposiums are being held, but aside from the themes and the names and positions of participants, nobody can learn anything from the press about the contents of these symposiums.

As for conferences, there is a great deal of information about them, but newspaper readers are almost always kept in the dark about what is discussed or debated at these meetings, or are only told of things that they have already known all too well.

Everyone knows that "national secrets" are taboo and must not be published in the press. But what is a national

secret? There has been a great deal of information that is considered as secret by some and not secret by others, and this has happened not only among ordinary readers but also among the leadership and persons with high responsibilities in various specialized sectors.

News reporting should be oriented. Certainly nobody will dispute this principle. Not only the revolutionary press but the western press themselves are oriented. However, if this orientation is mechanical and coercive, then one-sided, nonobjective news reporting and even distortions of facts will inevitably result.

News reporting must meet the requirement of "being beneficial." But what does "being beneficial" mean? Is it always "unbeneficial" to report on the negative aspects and seamy side of things? But, in the struggle against negativism and corruption, the "unbeneficial" label is often used as a barrier to news reporting. Has any editor in chief been "given the green light" when he sought the advice of the echelon in charge about exposing a scandal in the press? Is it not true that the answer has often been "It is not advisable" or "It is not beneficial," especially when the cases fell under the sphere of direct management responsibility of that echelon in the sector or locality concerned.

The press are the people's forum. But, what issues should or should not be raised on this forum? Because of their hesitancy over such "dos" and "don'ts," the press have rarely been able to suggest interesting topics for discussion on this forum. Barring a bolder approach, this forum will serve only as a place for people to voice their impressions or to simplistically illustrate what is already crystal clear. Trenchant comments will be rarely heard and only those issues that have been given the green light will be brought up, such as the various draft laws that have been published for public comment.

If statistics are compiled, they will show that countless issues once regarded as "don'ts" have eventually become "dos" or, at least, are no longer objected to by the upper echelons, after the newspapers, acting in step with the march of life, first hesitantly and then boldly reported on them. Many people relapsing into illiteracy, many children dropping out of school, teachers quitting their jobs, the resurgence of malaria in many areas, prostitution and drug addiction, evacuees from the Da River basin suffering from unstable livelihood, and many other facts were once topics on which, as the newspapers were reminded, no reports should be carried. But, after news of them began to appear in the press little by little, readers found that there was nothing about them that "should not" have been published, and that, on the contrary, there was very good reason for them to have been reported.

Moreover, facts that are deemed unfit to print in one locality are published in another by other newspapers. For example: Each time the National Assembly met, some localities were advised not to carry detailed reports on this of that issue, while other localities provided full accounts of the same questions, thereby attracting a lot of readers. There was also the case of the plane crash in the Nha Trang area. While many newspapers were allowed only to print short news items based on VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY accounts, some others went into details by publishing

numerous articles, analyses of the causes of the accident, sketches, interviews with survivors, and a name list of the victims. Despite these discrepancies in news reporting methods, there has been no judgment about what is right or wrong in this matter to help journalists gain experience to improve their work.

For this reason, concern over the "dos" and "don'ts" and questions that are difficult to answer still persist. An issue of such complexity as the land issue was still made public for all the people to make suggestions. The issue of wage reform can hardly compare with the land issue in complexity, then why is it not advisable to exchange views on it in the press? This is an economic as well as a political and social issue bearing on the livelihood of tens of millions of people. If it is published for public comment, fairness and rationality will certainly be achieved. Journalists can also ask why there is the suggestion now that information about the amount of rice exported should not be published. What does this matter have to do with national secrets, when the world press have already reported on it more fully than our press, and when this is just a piece of ordinary economic information like a host of other economic figures? We can cite many more examples like that.

So, how should news reporting be handled in our current press mechanism? Our press are one that is subject to leadership, direction, and guidance. But how should this direction and guidance be implemented is something that calls for thorough discussion. Is it not more advisable to provide orientation only and to consider the concrete handling of news reporting as a responsibility of the press? All coercive methods of giving direction that are tantamount to controlling the pen and guiding people's hands would cause journalists to lose all their creativity and liveliness and to rely on others, thus making it impossible for the press to avoid insipid, monotonous reporting. We have a fairly large number of newspapers and magazines, but they can be attractive and useful only if their news coverage is diversified.

Of course, there are complicated issues, especially those concerning foreign policies and national security, that should be subject to strict guidance. But such issues are very rare and highly uncommon.

The press, like any other fields of activities, have their own good points and shortcomings. What they should avoid is committing serious mistakes in matters of principle. But showing some concrete shortcomings now and then is quite inevitable. It is normal for public opinion to praise or to criticize the press. Whether the press "should" or "should not" carry news about this or that event is not a matter in which the echelon in charge is always right and the press are always wrong, or the other way round. The press must uphold their sense of responsibility before public opinion as well as the law; they must weigh the pros and cons and must know how to decide what "should" or "should not" be done and must bear responsibility for their decisions. Only in this way can the journalists make progress and practice their profession in a really competent manner.

In a letter to a newspaper editor in chief, a former general secretary of our party wrote: "If you think it is right, go ahead and do it." I think that this is a correct guideline and advice that newspaper workers should follow to reach the height of journalism.